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[6] I would not say, however, that Thomson's material (1949) on ceremonial economic exchange fills many gaps, if any, in Warner's data (see Leach 1951:34). It is obvious, I think, both from his material and from ours, that exchanges of this nature between M.B. and Sr.S. comprise merely one element in a wide system of economic exchanges. Goods travel backwards and forwards through the network of cognatic relationships, against a background of linked and allied linguistic groups, in a traditionally prescribed fashion, between certain specified kin, passing outside the periphery of the Wulamba bloc into and from alien Aboriginal or European (or Indonesian, as before) channels. Such exchanges consist of specified objects or commodities, which move in different directions across the surface of the whole country; but this is only one aspect relevant to the total kinship system.

Also, I would agree with Leach (p. 52) that in a marriage exchange the equivalent of a woman is not only another woman, and that the equivalent of a woman may be found not only in goods and labor and symbolic objects. Certain intangibles can play a part—and these may involve prestige, rights, services, and perhaps status. Little work, as yet, has been done in consideration of these. Reciprocal exchanges between males and females, or between females, should also be discussed in much greater detail, for these are not just reflections of exchanges between male partners. It is not satisfactory to consider an EGO as being always a male, as has been done in most discussions of kinship systems. Where prestations occur between male and female kin, these seem to conform with traditional patterns; but between female kin (i.e., among the Wulamba), this is not so apparent.

[7] Radcliffe-Brown (1931:4–5) calls the local group a horde: he states that each horde is independent and autonomous, managing its own affairs and acting as a unit in its relations with other hordes (however, see pp. 28, 106). Elkin (1938:39–41, 73–74) discusses the local group: it is, he tells us, an enlarged family, consisting of a man and his living descendants in the male line; such a group can be a local patrilineal clan. Elkin then draws a distinction between the local group and the horde, which is as we have defined it above. In fact his statements would, I think, agree with our own here.

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But a tangled anchor rope delayed us and we were left stranded in the mud for another twelve hours. By next sunrise, however, we were on our way down the river and by sunset, two days later, we were berthed at the Darwin jetty. The field work of the expedition was over.

The results of the expedition could hardly have been richer, both from the standpoint of human companionship and scientific results. I cannot speak too highly of the good fellowship that existed between members of the party during the eight months we were together, a good fellowship not always present on expeditions where members have been together for extended periods. The gross results of the collections, too, were impressive: 13,500 plant specimens, 30,000 fish, 850 birds, 160 animals, several thousand aboriginal implements and weapons, together with photographs and drawings of a large number of cave paintings from Chasm Island, Groote Eylandt and Oenpelli. There was also a collection of several hundred aboriginal bark paintings and two hundred string figures. In addition to the physical collections of natural history and ethnological specimens, each scientist had written extensive field notes as a basis for his scientific papers. There were also many hundreds of monochrome and coloured photographs as well as several miles of colour film on aboriginal life and natural history.

Two articles on the expedition have been published in the *National Geographic Magazine*: 'Cruise to Stone Age Arnhem Land'[10] by Howell Walker and 'Exploring Stone Age Arnhem Land'[11] by myself. Four coloured cine films have also been completed, with Bassett-Smith as photographer and myself as director: 'Arnhem Land', a survey of the natural history and ethnology of that region; 'Aborigines of the Sea Coast', dealing with native life at Yirrkalla; 'Birds and Billabongs', picturing the birds and the water-lilies of Oenpelli lagoons; and 'The Arawaltja Ceremony' of Groote Eylandt.

This volume is the first of a series which will describe the scientific results of the Arnhem Land Expedition. General subjects which will be published in the succeeding volumes are: Ethnology, archaeology, ornithology, mammalogy, herpetology, conchology, botany, ichthyology.

The ethnological and natural history specimens collected on the expedition will, when the research work on them is completed, be distributed between the Australian and American institutions, with the exception of the botanical collection. A duplicated collection has already been presented to the major herbaria in Australia; to the Kew Gardens, London; to the Arnold Herbarium, Harvard University, Boston; to the United States National Herbarium, Washington; and to the Rijksherbarium, Leiden, Netherlands.

Many of the cave paintings discovered at Oenpelli, and bark paintings collected at Groote Eylandt, Yirrkalla and Oenpelli, have been reproduced in colour by UNESCO in *Australia: Aboriginal Paintings—Arnhem Land*.

C.P.M.

10. Walker (1949), pp. 117-30. 11. Mountford (1949), pp. 745-82.

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616 with introduced or external themes. The Djanggawul and Wauwalak
[776] Spirit Beings, the guardians of the most sacred and esoteric ritual,
are *dua*, while Laintjung, Baijini, Macassan and Badu mythology,
[773] ritual, songs and belief are *jiritja*.[2]

As we have said, the *mala* and *mata* belong either to one moiety
614 or to the other; but detailed topographical maps of the region
197 reveal that clan territories are very elastic, so that isolated sites
relating to one moiety may exist in the clan country of the opposite
616 moiety, and so on. Further, the traditional home territory of one
[423] group may be situated elsewhere than it is to-day. This is often discovered only by analysis of clan mythology and its relationship to that of other clans, and the inclusion of linguistic groups in clans which originally were not associated with these particular *mata*. The whole study of clan and linguistic group organization is extremely complicated. We shall, however, mention several of the best known of these, in order to demonstrate their complexity: it is not necessary, for the purpose of this work, to deal with them in any detail.

Dalwongu is a *jiritja mata*, that means "Spring water flowing after
614 rain and the swamp bird, *wanba*, calling out when he sees it". It
616 belongs not only to the Nungulrulpoi (meaning "a shoal of *gunbirawi*
young mullet") whose alternate name is Numbiripala (meaning
192 "those who subincise", that is, they are influenced from Rose River:
vide the body of this work), or Malar'watjeri (i.e. "the clan of the subincision"), but to others. These particular Dalwongu are distinguished from the others by the "heavy" quality of their language. Allied to this Dalwongu *mata*, within this particular *mala*, are the Kalaulwun (meaning "the *wanba* bird in the bamboo tree") and Mararba (that is, "the *wanba* bird") *mata*, who belong also to other *mala* and not only to the Nungulrulpoi. The alternate term for the *mala*, Malar'watjeri, is used also as a separate *mala*, and its *mata* are Dalwongu, Bilmalandji ("paperbark near the salt water") and Di:agoi (meaning "paperbark"): this Dalwongu group is allied to the first, and to the other *mata* which are rightfully Malar'watjeri.

Another Dalwongu group belongs to the Ngelkala *mala* (meaning

[113] 2. *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, Sacred Figures of Ancestral Beings of Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 309–326, 2 plates and text figures; Secular Figures of North-Eastern Arnhem Land, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 2; R. Berndt, A Wonguri-Mandjikai Song Cycle of the Moon Bone, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, pp. 16–50; Badu, Islands of the Spirits, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 93–103, plate; C. Berndt, Expressions of Grief Among Aboriginal Women, *Oceania*, Vol. XX, No. 4, pp. 286–332; R. and C. Berndt, Discovery of Pottery in North-Eastern Arnhem Land, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXVII, Part 2; A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*, F. W. Cheshire, Melbourne, and University of Chicago Press, 1950; R. Berndt, *Djanggawul*, for publication (a detailed study of the Djanggawul religious cult of north-eastern Arnhem Land); R. Berndt, *Daughters of the Sun* (a further study of the Djanggawul cult from the north-central Arnhem Land point of view), for publication; R. and C. Berndt, *Arnhem Land, Its History and Its People* (F. W. Cheshire, for publication); R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land* (sexual behaviour in north-eastern Arnhem Land), volume for publication.

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773 796 to these aborigines, is not just passive reliance on the Ancestral Beings, an inertia based on the hope that "something is bound to turn up" if they wait long enough. They must do their part to ensure the action of the Ancestral Beings; and their part is the ritual re-enactment of the relevant myth. This releases the "power" (or *dal*) inherent in the Ancestral Beings. This *dal* then finds full expression, and fertility is assured.

Thus the myth is thought to express the intentions of the Ancestral Beings, who possess the power to carry them out; and this power is [805] [789] released (or brought to bear) by sacred ritual. It arranges the seasons, maintains an adequate supply of food, and ensures the continuance of the group as a whole.

Before we proceed with the Kunapipi ritual, it is necessary to relate the final part of the Wauwalak myth, explaining the way in which this ritual was obtained and handed down from *wonga:r* times.

The three rituals, of which only one is to be treated here, are grouped together in terms of kinship ties. The *djunggawon*, an age-[561] grading ceremony, is called *katu*, son, and so is its principal ritual [534] object, the long *julunggul* wooden "trumpet". The *ngu:rlmak*, mainly religious in character and open only to adult postulants, is termed *ba:pa*, father, and so is its ceremonial hollow log *uwar* "drum". The *kunapipi* is *mari* (mother's mother's brother), like its [60] main ritual emblem, the *jebnalandji*. Although the relationship term of *mari* signifying the *kunapipi* is one that normally denotes age (that is, in the grandparents' generation), it is less important from the point of view of sacredness than the *ngu:rlmak*, said to be the major ritual of the trilogy. Sometimes, however, the *ngu:rlmak* is spoken of as "the father of the *kunapipi* side", while the *kunapipi* and *djunggawon* are classified together. But in practice it seems that, irrespective of the terminology of *mari*, the Kunapipi is really of secondary importance.

796 All the Wauwalak-Julunggul ceremonies belong to the *dua* clans 616 or linguistic groups, and are under the direction of *dua* moiety totemic headmen; but members of the *jiritja* moiety assist in the dancing, singing, and making of ritual objects, and may even include certain of their own particular dances based on purely *jiritja* myth cycles. *Dua* ceremonial leaders, however, are recognized as the principal custodians of indigenous ritual, for they possess not only the Wauwalak but also the Djanggawul. In contrast to the more conservative *dua* groups, the *jiritja* have incorporated introduced themes[1] into their ritual life.

[113] 1. *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, Secular Figures of North-East Arnhem Land, *American Anthropologist*, 1949, Vol. 51, No. 2, pp. 213-222, with plates; Discovery of Pottery in North-Eastern Arnhem Land. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXVII, Part 2; and R. Berndt, Badu, Islands of the Spirits, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 93-103; R. and C. Berndt, *Arnhem Land, Its History and Its People*, for publication.

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. . ." — (Djanggawul and Wauwalak mythology). In any case, a cult such as the Kunapipi, which stresses fertility and reproduction, could not exclude women; as is normal in these matters, a certain sphere of ceremonial activity is allotted to each sex, while the women realize the important part played by their divine counterpart, the Wauwalak. 562 796 794

In the Kunapipi, however, women enter the sacred ground of the men; this is a feature that rarely occurs in the ceremonies associated with other cults. Upon entering the ground, the women themselves become more definitely *marelin* (sacred); "they take over from the men, and dance before them as if the men were only novices being introduced to their first sacred rituals". They re-enact something of what they themselves initially possessed in the mythological period, and what was stolen by the men. They use the sacred symbol of Julunggul, and the tree that was split by his lightning, and through their actions they represent the origin of the men's sacred bullroarer which no woman is supposed to see. They dance the ritual of the great Python, "and the men hang their heads in fear".[17]

On the termination of this ceremony, the women dance the lewd bandicoot dance on the sacred ground before the men, expressing symbolically the basic intent of the Kunapipi. They are stimulating both themselves and the men in order to carry out sexual intercourse, for copulation is the means by which fertility is achieved.

This brings us to an aspect that cannot be considered in detail here; that is, the problem of religious sexuality.[18] By this we mean the degree in which sex, as a stimulatory factor, enters into Kunapipi ritual. In most sacred aboriginal cult life, where sexual subjects are dealt with frankly and freely, there is no suggestion of actual individual stimulation, or of arousing the sexual inclinations of the participants: the ritual merely re-enacts some specific aspect of mythology which is related to erotic activity or coitus, and which is necessary for its effective completion, and for achieving the desired intent. The actors only carry out the symbolism associated with sexual activity. The arousing of sexual desire by sacred acting of this type would project into it a profane and irreligious content that would immediately detract from its real intent. Allowance for sexual stimulation by dancing, acting and singing has been made in the case of love magic ritual, or of collective male and female secular ceremonies that heighten sexual feelings and permit licence. 794 796 831 [832] [786]

17. This ceremony held by the women is similar to their secret magico-religious rituals in central-western Northern Territory. It is one aspect of the *tjarada*, which has its sacred and secular expressions. From these secret rituals of the women, men are traditionally, and in present practice, excluded. *Vide* C. H. Berndt, *Women's Changing Ceremonies in Northern Australia*, L'Homme, Cahiers d'Ethnologie, de Geographie et de Linguistique, 1, Paris, 1950, pp. 1-85, text figs. See particularly Chapter V. [184] [113]
18. *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, Chapter IV, Section XII.

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CHAPTER I

[1] *Vide*, for example, F. Scott, *A Short History of Australia*, 1829, Chapter II; J. E. Heeres, *The Part Borne by the Dutch in the Discovery of Australia*, London 1899; G. A. Wood, *Discovery of Australia*, London 1923; and A. Grenfell Price, *The History and Problems of the Northern Territory of Australia, The John Murtagh Macrossan Lectures, 1930*, Adelaide, 1930, p. 2.

The first Dutch vessel known to have visited the Australian coast, in the vicinity of the eastern side of the Gulf of Carpentaria, was the "Duyfken", commanded by Jansz Zeachern, in the "Mauritius", landed and named Arnheim Land at the western point of the opening of the Gulf. Elsewhere it is said that the region derives its name from the Dutch vessel "Aernem" which in company with the "Pera" coasted round the Gulf in 1623, under the command of Cartensz.

[2] See, for example, Knut Dahl, *In Savage Australia, An Account of a Hunting and Collecting Expedition to Arnhem Land and Dampier Land*, London 1926, p. xii.

[3] M. Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis, etc.*, London 1814, 2 vols.; and P. King, *Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coasts of Australia*, performed between the years 1818-1822, London 1826.

[4] I. Idriess, *Man Tracks*, Sydney 1936, and *In Crocodile Land*, Sydney 1946.

[5] C. Barrett, *Coast of Adventure*, Melbourne 1941. This is probably the best of the "popular" books on this subject.

[6] W. E. Harney, *North of 21°*, Sydney 1946, and *Brimming Billabongs*, Sydney 1947.

[7] A. Marshall, *Ourselves Writ Strange*, Melbourne 1948.

[8] C. Warburton, *Buffalo Trail*, Sydney, undated.

[9] E. Hill, *The Territory*, Sydney 1951.

[10] C. Simpson, *Adam in Ochre*, Sydney 1951.

[11] C. Fenton, *Flying Doctor*, Sydney 1948, scattered references.

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[12] That is, documentary evidence in the South Australian Archives Department of the Public Library, e.g., *Northern Territory Incoming and Outgoing Correspondence, Official Reports*, etc. Also early newspaper references, and data in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. *Vide* also *South Australian Parliamentary* and *Government Reports*, and those of the Northern Territory Government Resident. 113●

[13] A. Searcy, *In Northern Seas*, Adelaide 1905, reprinted from the *Register* newspaper (South Australia).

Another volume by Searcy, *In Australian Tropics* (London 1907), presents the same data, with certain additional remarks that refer mainly to other parts of the Northern Territory. A third volume, *By Flood and Field* (Melbourne 1911), contains what purport to be personal reminiscences: thus Searcy tells how he was shipwrecked off the coast of western Arnhem Land, witnessed a Malay massacre, and lived some time (pp. 15-39) with local Aborigines. However, some of the experiences he relates appear in semi-fictional guise, and do not conform with earlier accounts given by himself and other (official) sources. Thus his description of the "Cape Brogden massacre" (see later) seems to be out of chronological order, and he states also that he himself was present at the time. For that reason, we have quoted only sparingly from this volume. However, *In Northern Seas* is his first publication and is more fully documented, and more references have therefore been cited from it.

[14] For example, T. T. Webb, *Spears to Spades*, 1938, and W. S. Chaseling, *Children of Arnhem Land*, 1939. *Vide* also Methodist Overseas Mission and Church Missionary Society journals for information relating to their activities.

[15] W. L. Warner, *A Black Civilisation*, New York, 1937.

[16] Chiefly in the form of Government Reports: *vide Report on Expedition to Arnhem Land*, 1936-37, Northern Territory of Australia 1939; *Recommendations of Policy in Native Affairs in the Northern Territory of Australia*, 1937-38; *Interim General Report of Preliminary Expedition to Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia*, 1935-36, Department of the Interior, Canberra, 1936; and *Report of the Administration of the Northern Territory for Year 1944-45*, Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1946-47. See also D. Thomson, *Economic Structure and the Ceremonial Exchange Cycle in Arnhem Land*, Melbourne 1949, pp. 1-106, also in *Man*, Vol. LII, 1952, pp. 1-5.

[17] B. Spencer, *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory*, 1914, and *Wanderings in Wild Australia*, 2 vols. 1928.

[18] Professor A. P. Elkin has worked in south-western Arnhem Land, having headed several expeditions of which the personnel included photographers and sound recorders, as well as other workers in allied fields. The American-Australian Expedition to Arnhem Land was led by Mr C. P. Mountford and Dr Frank Setzler, and numbered among its members Mr

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F. D. McCarthy; none of their anthropological results have to date (1952) been published. In 1952 Dr Waterman and his wife are investigating Aboriginal music at Yirrkalla, in north-eastern Arnhem Land.

Dr A. E. Capell of the Department of Anthropology, Sydney University, has carried out linguistic work in this region: see, for example, The Classification of Languages in North and North-West Australia, *Oceania*, Vol. X, No. 3, and Vol. X, No. 4; and Languages of Arnhem Land, North Australia, *Oceania*, Vol. XII, No. 4, and Vol. XIII, No. 1.

For publications on Arnhem Land see R. and C. Berndt, Sacred Figures of Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 309-26; Carved Secular Human Figures of North-East Arnhem Land, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 2, pp. 213-222; Discovery of Pottery in North Eastern Arnhem Land, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXVII, Part 2, 1947 (pub. 1951), pp. 133-138; C. and R. Berndt, An Oenpelli Monologue: Culture Contact, *Oceania*, Vol. XXII, pp. 24-52; R. Berndt, A Wonguri-Mandjikai Song Cycle of the Moon Bone, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, pp. 16-50; Badu, Islands of the Spirits, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 93-103; Ceremonial Exchange in Western Arnhem Land, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 156-176; C. Berndt, Expressions of Grief Among Aboriginal Women, *Oceania*, Vol. XX, No. 4, pp. 286-332; A Drama of North-Eastern Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. XXII, Nos. 3 and 4. Many other articles are scattered through anthropological journals. Volumes: A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*, Melbourne and University of Chicago Press, 1950; R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land* (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 16) New York, 1951, pp. 1-247; R. Berndt, *Kunapipi*, Melbourne and International Universities Press, New York, 1951; *Djanggawul*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1952, and *Love Songs of Arnhem Land* (for publication); C. Berndt, *Married Life in An Australian Tribe* (for publication). See also W. E. Harney and A. P. Elkin, *Songs of the Songmen*, Melbourne 1949.

CHAPTER 2

[1] The reader who is particularly interested in the social organisation and kinship terminology of the eastern and western Arnhem Land people is referred to the following works:

For western Arnhem Land, see A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Social Organisation of Australian Tribes, *Oceania*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 330-31 (and also *Oceania Monograph* No. 1, 1930); R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, pp. 69-78; A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, Social Organisation of Arnhem Land, 1. Western Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, pp. 253-301.

For eastern Arnhem Land, see L. Warner, *A Black Civilisation*, pp. 3-124, and Morphology and Functions of the Australian Murngin Type of Kinship, *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 33, 2; T. T. Webb, Tribal Organisation

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in Eastern Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 406-411; A. P. Elkin, Marriage and Descent in East Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 412-416; D. Thomson, *Interim General Report of Preliminary Expedition to Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia*, 1935-36, Department of the Interior, Canberra, 1936, pp. 31-34; W. E. Lawrence and G. P. Murdock, Murngin Social Organisation, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 1, pp. 58-65; A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Murngin Social Organisation, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 53, No. 1, pp. 37-55; A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, Social Organisation of Arnhem Land, 2. North-Central Arnhem Land, *Oceania*; R. Berndt, *Kunapipi*, pp. 2-6, and *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*.

For Arnhem Land generally, see A. P. Elkin, The Complexity of Social Organisation in Arnhem Land, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 3-16.

For general references: see A. P. Elkin, *The Australian Aborigines*, Sydney 1938, and Kinship in South Australia, *Oceania Bound Reprint*, Sydney 1940; P. Kaberry, *Aboriginal Woman*, London 1939; R. and C. Berndt, A Preliminary Report of Field Work in the Ooldea Region, Western South Australia, *Oceania Bound Reprint*, Sydney 1945, pp. 1-343; *From Black to White in South Australia*, Melbourne and University of Chicago Press, 1951; *The First Australians*, Sydney 1952; C. Berndt, *Women's Changing Ceremonies in Northern Australia*, L'Homme, No. 1, Paris 1950.

[2] The reader is referred to *Art in Arnhem Land* by A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, which concerns a brief survey of particular art forms and their sociological significance in the region under discussion.

CHAPTER 3

[1] The most important references in literature concerning this contact are found in M. Flinders, *op. cit.* pp. 172 *et seq.*; A Searcy, *op. cit.* pp. 5-11, 39-42; L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 451-471 and N. B. Tindale, The Natives of Groote Eylandt and the West Coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, *Records of the South Australian Museum*, Vol. III, No. 2, 1926.

Professor Lloyd Warner underestimates the influence of Malay and Macassan contact on the indigenous Aboriginal cultures of Arnhem Land.

A certain amount of documentary evidence dealing with the last phase of Macassan contact is to be found in the South Australian Archives.

[2] Aborigines say that these imported fowls were the progenitors of the modern jungle-fowl, but this seems unlikely.

[3] *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 456-458, for a brief sketch of the economic organisation of the Malay traders.

[4] R. and C. Berndt, Card Games Among Aborigines of the Northern Territory, *Oceania*, Vol. XVII, No. 3, p. 249.

[5] A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

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113 [6] *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, Carved (Secular) Human figures of North-East Arnhem Land, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 2; and also A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*.

[7] Re notes by Dr Held and Professor Cense (University of Indonesia): communication and conversation with the former. *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*, pp. 38-45.

[8] E.g., L. Warner, *op. cit.* p. 467.

[9] *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* p. 457.

[10] *Vide* Report by Dr Strangman, who made a medical survey along the north and east coast of Arnhem Land in 1908, one year after the Indonesian traders ceased to visit these shores. (175/1908, Report on Condition of Aborigines, *Northern Territory Incoming Correspondence*, South Australian Archives.) This subject has been discussed briefly in *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land* (R. and C. Berndt), pp. 43-45, where reference is made to the introduction of venereal disease into western Arnhem Land.

164 Dr Strangman examined eastern Arnhem Land Aborigines at Caledon Bay, Blue Mud Bay and Cape Shields, and found no evidence of venereal disease. On Groote Eylandt he "could see little evidence of venereal or other disease; a few natives had genital or inguinal sores covered with soft granulation tissue which projected above the skin surface (pseudo granulomata)". "These growths", he adds, "are either a local infection or the result of broken down inguinal glands, which have a tendency to heal spontaneously with improved health when the affected natives migrate to better country with abundant food".

[11] M. Flinders, *op. cit.* pp. 228-233.

113 [12] E.g., A. Grenfell-Price, The History and Problems of the Northern Territory, *The John Murtagh Macrossan Lectures*, 1930, Adelaide 1930, p. 2.

[13] *Vide* R. Berndt, Badu, Islands of the Spirits, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 93-103, and A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*.

[14] *Vide* P. P. King, *Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coasts of Australia, etc.*, London 1826; T. B. Wilson, *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World*, etc., London 1835; G. W. Earl, Notes on Northern Australia and Neighbouring Seas, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1837, Vol. XII, pp. 139-41; G. W. Earl, *Enterprise in Tropical Australia*, London 1846; J. L. Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia, with an account of the coasts and rivers explored and surveyed during the voyage of H.M.S. Beagle . . .* London 1846; A. C. Gregory, North Australian Expedition, *South Australian Parliamentary Paper* No. 170 of 1861; E. A. Oppen, *A Description of the Northern Territory of South Australia*, 1864; F. Carrington, The Rivers of the Northern Territory, *Proclamation of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia (South Australian Branch)*, 1886-87, pp. 55-76; D. Lindsay, An Expedition Across Australia . . . *Journal*

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of the Royal Geographical Society, London 1889, Vol. XI, p. 650; D. Lindsay, Explorations in the Northern Territory, *Proclamation of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia (South Australian Branch)*, 1887-8, pp. 1-16; *National Association to Federalise the Northern Territory*, Melbourne 1901, pp. 1-40. See also *South Australian Parliamentary Papers*, Cadell, Nos. 178 of 1867, 24, 79 and 79A of 1868-9; D. Lindsay, No. 239 of 1883-4; H.M.S. Beatrice, Nos. 18 of 1865, 84 of 1865-66 and 79 of 1866-7; Carrington, 1884-6 (Government Residents' Reports); T. Gill, *Bibliography of the Northern Territory of South Australia*, Adelaide, 1905 and 1912; A. Searcy, *In Northern Seas*, Adelaide 1905; A. Grenfell-Price, *op. cit.* pp. 1-28 and 59-67 (notes and references).

[15] *Vide* A. Searcy, *op. cit.*, various references; *Incoming and Outgoing Correspondence of the Northern Territory Administration*, South Australian Archives.

[16] *Vide* A. Searcy, *op. cit.*, and *Incoming and Outgoing Correspondence of the Northern Territory Administration*, S.A. Archives, e.g., 64 of 1905, etc.

[17] D. Thomson, *Report on Expedition to Arnhem Land*, 1936-37, Commonwealth of Australia, 1939, Appendix I, p. 21, mentions the police at Caledon Bay. The incident referred to in the above text, however, occurred earlier.

[18] *Vide* I. L. Idriess, *Man Tracks*, pp. 222-283: much of this information is not fully accurate; also W. E. Harney, *North of 23°*, pp. 110-177. Mr Harney was himself a trepanger just prior to the 1930's.

[19] *Vide* D. Thomson, *Report of Expedition to Arnhem Land*, 1936-37, Commonwealth of Australia, 1939, pp. 1-23. See reference to general unrest, Appendix III, p. 23. This writer states that, "Owing to the influence of outside contacts to which these natives have been repeatedly subjected recently, there is at the present time a great deal of unrest among the tribes of Arnhem Land . . ." See his *Interim General Report of Preliminary Expedition to Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia*, 1935-36, Department of Interior, Canberra 1936 (see p. 15 referring to Woodah Island murder and Macassan contact).

[20] This had been proclaimed an inviolable Commonwealth Aboriginal Reserve in 1931.

[21] See particularly D. Thomson, *Report on Expedition to Arnhem Land*, 1936-37, Commonwealth of Australia, 1939, pp. 14-15. This contains almost the only reliable published information on Japanese contact with natives during this period, with the exception of certain other Government *Reports*. L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 468 notes only that Japanese contact occurs.

[22] *Vide Darwin Drama*, by Owen Griffiths (1947).

[23] There seems to have been a genuine feeling of respect and liking for

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few indeed and, with the exception of the dugout (canoe) complex, have had no significant influence on the development of Murngin civilisation. On the other hand, when an examination is made of the even larger number of traits found in Malay culture, and they are contrasted with the very few adopted by the Murngin from the Malays, it becomes even further demonstrable that Murngin civilisation remained very near to what is was before the Malay arrived, and that the Malay gave little of his own civilisation to Aboriginal Australia". Just how Professor Warner arrived at this conclusion, with so much evidence pointing in the opposite direction, is beside the point in this study; and we shall not linger here in discussion of his statements.

[27] No cases were mentioned by Dr Strangman (*op. cit.*), nor directly from this area by Dr Thomson. The latter mentions the danger of the introduction of such diseases from the East (by Japanese), but not specifically their occurrence in this region. (*Vide Report on Expedition to Arnhem Land*, 1936-37, Commonwealth of Australia, 1939, p. 15 and p. 16.) See also R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land*.

[28] There is, of course, the incidence of leprosy, yaws, tropical ulcers, etc., and the prevalence of such epidemics as measles, whooping cough, influenza, common colds and so on. The Aborigines have little or no immunity to such introduced diseases. (See also Thomson, *op. cit.* pp. 16-17.)

[29] *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, *Native Labour and Welfare in the Northern Territory*, duplicated manuscript for private distribution, Sydney 1946, pp. 68-71, 92-98, 100-102, 153-165, and 289-294.

[30] *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 155-190. Professor Warner mentions (pp. 155-6), ". . . polygyny is possible under present conditions only because of warfare, and the resultant scarcity of women". The first part of this statement holds good for north-eastern Arnhem Land; but in the region from Arnhem Bay to Blue Mud Bay it was chiefly the male population which diminished as a result of warfare. Only occasionally were women speared. A detailed study of depopulation in relation to warfare, and its bearing on family life and sexual behaviour will be given later: see, for example, R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*.

Dr Thomson (*Interim General Report of Preliminary Expedition to Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia*, 1935-36, Department of Interior, Canberra, 1936, pp. 42-44, and *Report on Expedition to Arnhem Land*, 1936-37, Commonwealth of Australia, 1939, pp. 6-15, 16 and 18) has mentioned the subject of depopulation in this region. His contention is that alien contact (principally Japanese and European), the breaking down of traditional ways, and the collapse of clan structure, together with introduced epidemics, have diminished the native population of this region.

[pp. 212-227 not processed]

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Japanese killing of the previous year, and Gray persuaded them to surrender to police to save punishment of the whole tribe. The Mission lugger "Holly" was thought to be a police boat. It was not until March-April of the next year that Gray brought in the Caledon Bay Aborigines for trial in Darwin.

CHAPTER 16

[1] Idriess briefly mentions the Caledon Bay massacre in *Man Tracks* (pp. 228-243), but many of his statements are misleading.

[2] From the journal of Mr Fred Gray, trepanger, entitled "Bringing in the Caledons", *Northern Standard*, 20 April 1934.

[3] This Mission station was not retained. However, in 1934 the following references are found in the Groote Eylandt Mission *Records*. On 28 September 1934 Mr Gray and Mr Smith in the "Oituli", with Sam Doleton from Darwin, and some Milingimbi boys, reached Groote. On 31 October Mr Gray returned from Bickerton Island, and on 31 December the "Holly" left for Caledon Bay with Mr Gray, Mr Taylor, Miss Dove (from the Groote Eylandt Half-Caste Settlement), Mr Smith and half-castes Harold, Fred, Harry and Virgil. They returned to Groote on 3 January and reported a very successful journey. They called in at Trial Bay and held a church service, and planted pines and coconuts; then they proceeded to Cape Grey and met over eighty natives; here another service was held, pictures shown, and on the following day there were games, etc.

[4] It will be remembered that the Groote Eylandt Mission received a message relating to Gray's wreck on 23 February 1934.

[5] Wonggu has received a certain amount of publicity within recent years, mainly owing to the reports of Dr Donald Thomson, and became notorious for his large number of wives. He was at Yirrkalla during the writers' period of field research (1946-47).

[6] *Northern Standard*, 25 May 1934.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1 June 1934.

[8] *Ibid.*, 5 June 1934.

[9] *Ibid.*, 3 August 1934.

[10] *Groote Eylandt Mission Records.*

[11] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 17

[1] *The Aboriginals and Half-Castes of Central and North Australia, Report* by J. W. Bleakley, 1928, The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1929, No. 21.

REFERENCES

[2] *Conference of representatives of Missions, Societies, and Associations interested in the welfare of Aboriginals to consider the report and recommendations submitted to the Commonwealth Government by J. W. Bleakley, Convened by the Minister of State for Home Affairs of the Commonwealth of Australia*, Commonwealth of Australia, typescript; 12 April 1929.

[3] For a general discussion of Japanese relations with Australia in respect of trade and so on, see Australian and Oriental Immigration 1900-34 by M. Hentze in *Australia and the Far East, Diplomatic and Trade Relations*, edited by I. Clunies Ross, Sydney 1935.

[4] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 September 1933.

[5] *Northern Standard*, 15 September 1933, in an article entitled: A Protection for Missionaries.

[6] The *Melbourne Argus*, 2 October 1933.

[7] *Bulletin*, Sydney, 16 May 1934, reprinted in the *Northern Standard* of 8 June 1934.

[8] Old Time Memories, The Aboriginal, Past and Present, by C. F. Gaunt, *Northern Standard*, 8 June 1934. The issues of the *Northern Standard* before the last war are a veritable storehouse of data relating to Aboriginal-European contact.

[9] *The Labor Daily*, Sydney, 30 May 1933, and *Northern Standard*, 27 June 1933.

[10] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 November 1933.

[11] See *Northern Standard* 20 April 1934.

[12] *Interim General Report of Preliminary Expedition to Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia, 1935-36*, by D. Thomson, 9 April 1936; Department of the Interior, Canberra; typescript.

[13] *Ibid.* pp. 45-46.

[13a] In 1935 the position of chief medical officer was offered to a doctor who had some interest in anthropology, but this was declined. In 1951, however, a medical officer was finally appointed to serve as a "Flying Doctor" and keep in touch with all the main Aboriginal camps in the Territory.

[14] *Report on Expedition to Arnhem Land, 1936-37*, by D. Thomson, The Northern Territory of Australia, Commonwealth of Australia, 1939, No. 337.

[15] *Ibid.* pp. 14-15, *et passim.*

[16] C. Barrett, *Coast of Adventure*, pp. 94-96, mentions a Japanese lugger in the Wessels.

[17] *Recommendations of Policy in Native Affairs in the Northern Territory of Australia*, by D. Thomson, The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, Melbourne, December 1937, Canberra 1937-38, No. 56, p. 7

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000 [18] *Ibid.* pp. 1-8.

[19] W. L. Warner, *A Black Civilization.*

113 [20] We are not taking into account here the work of Sir Baldwin Spencer on the western fringe of Arnhem Land (i.e., in his *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory*, 1914).

CHAPTER 18

[1] This missionary (Rev. Confalonière) had some contact with the natives of the Cobourg Peninsula, and translated into the local dialect a manuscript prayer-book, a short Catechism of the Christian Doctrine, the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary and Creed, Ten Commandments, and short history of the Passion of our Redeemer. *Vide* Presidential Address to the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, (South Australian Branch). Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 29 October 1915, by Hon. John Lewis: *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (S.A. Branch)*, 28th Session, 1914, Adelaide 1915, pp. 40-41.

[2] Government Resident, *Report on the Northern Territory for 1900*; Appendices: Aborigines.

[3] W. S. Chaseling, *Children of Arnhem Land*, Sydney 1939, p. 54.

000 [4] We are not dealing here with the matter of "mixed-bloods", because a number of these children were brought to Croker Island from other parts of the Northern Territory: and their problems need a separate study, taking in other areas as well.

113 [5] E.g., J. W. Bleakley's *Report*, op. cit. 1928; T. T. Webb, *Spears to Spades*, Sydney 1938; W. S. Chaseling, *op. cit.*; and the journals of the Church Missionary Society and the Methodist Overseas Mission.

[5a] A. P. Elkin, *Citizenship for the Aborigines, A National Aboriginal Policy*, Sydney 1944; e.g., Chapter 5 and Appendix 4.

[6] *Report on the Administration of the Northern Territory for the year ended 30th June 1942.*

[7] *Vide Native Employment and Welfare in the Northern Territory*, by R. and C. Berndt; also Special Survey of Army-Controlled Settlements in the Northern Territory, 1945-46, unpublished report.

[8] *Report on Administration of the Northern Territory for the year ending 30th June 1946.*

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
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ship" called *wäkkälmändji*[27] exists. Here again this right to use the property of a *mari* (always a distant or "outside" *mari* under the kinship system) is part of the pattern of extreme licence in behaviour which is permitted or even obligatory between certain men who stand in the relationship of *mari* ⇌ *kutara* to one another. The behaviour in this case emphasises the fact that this is a very special and unusual relationship and one which contrasts with the normal pattern of behaviour, of which it is a complete reversal. Towards my own *mari*, my own mother's mother's brother, the man whose daughter's daughter I may marry—whose actual daughter, my *mukul rumaro* (mother-in-law), is tabu, and to whom I must behave with greater reserve than to any other person in my kinship pattern—to this man I act with great circumspection and austerity. This is in marked contrast with the behaviour towards the *mari* whom I call *wäkkälmändji*, and whose *gerri* I may borrow.

This behaviour again serves to stress the fact that although material possessions among these people are simple and relatively few, the question of individual ownership of property and the right to dispose of this, is never in question, but is actually stressed in the kinship system, which defines and regulates conduct.

[27] The "joking relationship", which serves to stress and to give point and contrast to, the behaviour between relatives in which the pattern is very restrained and austere, often takes the form of organised licence with exchange of obscene jokes and taunts which under other circumstances would lead inevitably to a fight, is a feature of the social organisation in many parts of Australia although there is little reference to it in the accounts of kinship which have been published.

See Donald F. Thomson, *The Joking Relationship and Organised Obscenity in North Queensland*, American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, No. 3, July-September, 1935.

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184 the free use of certain elements, because they are regarded
424 as the special prerogative of one clan or group of clans. This
614 applies most strongly to matters which relate to clan totemism, but in material culture it may extend even to such
[226] things as the technique of fish capture, the right to practise some specialised method of fishing, such as the *gorl*,[32] which have been developed in adaptation to peculiar local conditions and which are regarded as the exclusive property of the members of one clan or group of clans, who alone have the traditional right, not merely to fish in one territory, but even the exclusive right to practise the technique itself. In the case of the *gorl*, which is one of the most specialised methods of fish capture found anywhere in the world, this can easily be explained, for the technique is used only in one area on the Glyde River where it is localised in the territory of one or possibly of two, clans, and is therefore regarded as under protection of the *wänärr*, the ancestors of the clan or clans concerned.

184 The restriction of the use of such traits and specialised
424 techniques as the *gorl*, which are jealously guarded, and of
[688] which any infringement is bitterly resented and visited by
[685] vengeance, often leading to fighting and interclan feud,
[628] rests upon the belief that the heritage which its members have received from the *wänärr*, the ancestors of the clan, has been infringed, and that its solidarity has suffered damage thereby, rather than from economic motives such as the desire to monopolise food supplies, raw materials, or *gerri*, as with civilised man.

181 Even apart from these matters which touch on the
184 solidarity of groups and which therefore restrict the distribution of a trait or process, the people are extremely

[113] [32] See Donald F. Thomson, *A New Type of Fish Trap from Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia*, Man, 1938, No. 216.

remaining with him all night. None of the medicinemen that I met in east Arnhem Land claimed to have a single *marrngit* only, and the number varied from two to four or five or even more, as in the case of Wilindjango, who had six (Plate Jb).

The *marrngitmirri*, as he gains experience in the cult, is able to see on the body of a victim of secret killing spear wounds which are not visible to ordinary people.

As the drawings in colour in Plates I and J indicate, there is a considerable variation in the concepts of the *marrngit* entertained by the *marrngitmirri*, but all agreed that these are *wakkinngu*—profane, in the sense of non-sacred, with the special implication that they are not associated with, or dedicated to, the *wangarr*, and so not subject to ritual or supernatural sanctions. The *marrngit* and their cult are regarded, therefore, by the natives of Arnhem Land as apart altogether from totemism. This essential distinction was pointed out to me by my informants themselves. They emphasized it frequently by referring to their *marrngit* as *warrakan*—animals—a term that they never used for their totems, except in reference to the actual animal form which the totems sometimes assumed in ancestral times—for, being *wangarr*, they had supernatural powers and were not subject to the restrictions and limitations of ordinary men. They were *wangarr*, hence supernatural.

The people always described their totems as *malli wangarr*—the spirits or shades of the ancestral culture heroes—and therefore, *yarkomirri*, literally with, or having, a name, dedicated ceremonially to the *wangarr*. On ceremonial occasions the obligatory presentations of *ngata* (food) are dedicated to the *wangarr* concerned by the *dalkarramirri*, who acts in the role of high priest. And because of their association with the *wangarr*, all totems or totemic objects are subject to supernatural sanctions and are still watched over by the *malli* of these *wangarr* who guard jealously the observance of the rituals associated with the heritage that they left behind.

The demarcation between what is sacred and what is profane, between *yarkomirri* and *wakkinngu*, emphasizes the recognition by these people of the essential distinction between *marrngit* and totem, between religion and magic.

Notes

[1] The data presented in the paper were obtained when I was under commission by the Commonwealth Government in Arnhem Land, prior to the war, and during the war while O.C. Northern Territory Coastal Patrol and the Special Reconnaissance Unit, Norforce.

[2] *Oceania*, Vol. I, 1936, pp. 336–41.

[3] See Donald F. Thomson, 'Two Painted Skulls from Arnhem Land, with Notes on the Totemic Significance of the Designs.' MAN, 1939, 1.

[4] *Tortork* is heart in the strictly anatomical sense, but some of my informants declared that it was also the seat of the *malli*, or shade, a kind of non-material or spiritual manifestation, which has nothing to do with the shadow.

[p. 102(B)]